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LAFAYETTE DAY FRANCE-AMERICA SOCIETY

Dinner to meet
**HIS EXCELLENCY THE
AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE**
*at the Waldorf-Astoria, on the
evening of September sixth,
nineteen hundred eighteen,
being the one hundred and sixty-
first anniversary of the
birth of*
**the MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE,
GENERAL OF THE ARMIES OF
FRANCE and of the UNITED STATES**
*and also the Fourth Anniver-
sary of the Battle of the Marne.*
Dinner Report



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Lafayette-Marne Day 1918

Lafayette Day, the one hundred and sixty-first anniversary of the birth of the Marquis de Lafayette, General of the Armies of France and of the United States, coinciding with the fourth anniversary of the 1914 victory of the Marne, was observed in the customary manner by ceremonies at the City Hall, and elsewhere in the city, organized by the National Lafayette Day Association, and by the annual dinner of the France-America Society at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, in the evening. The guest of honor, as in previous years, was His Excellency the Ambassador of France.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, President of Columbia University, and President of the Society, took the chair, having on his right the Ambassador of France, and on his left the Honorable Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior. Seated at the same table were the Right Honorable Sir Maurice de Bunsen, G.C.M.G., Special Ambassador of Great Britain to the Latin Republics of America, and the representative of England at Vienna at the time of the outbreak of the war; Mr. T. Masaryk, President of the Provisional Government of the Czecho-Slovak

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nation; their Excellencies George Roussos and E. de Cartier de Marchienne, Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary of Greece and of Belgium respectively; His Excellency Sir Henry Babington Smith, K.C.B., Minister Plenipotentiary and Acting High Commissioner of Great Britain; Admiral L. Grout, commanding the French naval forces in the North Atlantic and West Indian waters; Admiral Albert Gleaves and Admiral Nathaniel Usher of the United States Navy; General Asa Bird Gardiner, secretary of the Order of the Cincinnati, who was wearing the gold badge of the order, that was made for and worn by George Washington; the Honorable W. R. Riddell, Justice of the Appellate Court of Ontario; General Vignal and General Stefanic of the French Army; William D. Guthrie, Vice-President of the France-America Society; General J. Franklin Bell, U.S.A., commanding the Department of the East; General W. A. White, C.B., Chief of the British Recruiting Mission; George T. Wilson, Vice-President of the Pilgrims Society; General William H. Bowes, C.B., of the British Army; Gaston Liebert, Consul-General of France; the Honorable Victor J. Dowling, Justice of the Appellate Court of New York; the Honorable Richard E. Enright, Commissioner of Police; the Honorable Edward Swann, District Attorney of New York; the Honorable Charles De Woody, of

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the Department of Justice; F. Cunliffe-Owen, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the France-America Society; William Fellowes Morgan, President of the Merchants' Association of New York; C. Clive Bayley, the Consul-General of Great Britain; Colonel Samuel E. Tillman, commanding the U. S. Military Academy at West Point; C. Yada, Consul-General of Japan; and Colonel B. Benda, of the Italian War Mission.

There were likewise present: A. Barton Hepburn, former President of the France-America Society; S. Reading Bertron, the Secretary of the Society, and the following Directors: Henry W. Sackett, Albert Eugene Gallatin, George Foster Peabody, Eugene H. Outerbridge, likewise the Very Reverend Canon Cabanel, Chaplain of the French Army; the Honorable Major Hugo Baring, of the British Army; Sir Byron Peters, James Mortimer Montgomery, President-General Sons of the Revolution; the Baron de Grancey, of the French Navy, founder member of the Comité France-Amerique in Paris; Marcel Knecht, of the French High Commission; Geoffrey Butler, C.B., of the British War Mission; Rear Admiral Marbury Johnson, U.S.N.; Lucien Jouvaud, President of the French Benevolent Society; C. A. Downer, President of the Alliance Française; Commodore Lionel de L. Wells, R.V.C.B.; Captain de Villeneuve of the French Battleship Gloire; Captain de

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Roquefeuil, of the French Battleship Montcalm; the Honorable Byron Newton, Collector of the Port of New York; Maurice Leon and Charles Stewart Davison, the heads of the National Lafayette Day Observance Association; Emerson McMillin Darwin, P. Kingsley, Theodore P. Shonts, George R. Sheldon, Dr. John S. Thacher, Thomas D. Neelands, President of the Canadian Club; J. N. Jarvis, President of the Canadian Society; the Honorable W. H. Edwards, Collector of Internal Revenue; General Oliver B. Bridgman, etc., etc.

Before sitting down to dinner, President Nicholas Murray Butler addressed those present as follows:

Your Excellencies and Gentlemen: Grace will now be said by the Very Reverend Father Theophile Wucher, Dean of the French Church in New York, Provincial of the Order of Mercy, and a patriotic French son of Alsace, long enslaved, but now on the threshold of her liberation.

The invocation of the Very Reverend Father Wucher followed.

Soon after nine o'clock, and after the customary loyal toasts of the Society to the President of the United States and to the President of France had been given by President Butler, and duly honored, Commendatore Enrico Caruso, Officer of the Legion of Honor of France, took his place on the dais, and sang

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a verse from the national anthems of France, of the United States, of Great Britain and of Italy. President Butler thereupon presented to Signor Caruso a gold medal, with the following words:

Signor Caruso, as a slight recognition of the honor you have done us, and the pleasure you have given us, I hand you this gold medal in behalf of the directors and members of the France-America Society, which medal they have caused to be struck in recognition of your presence with us tonight.

Mr. Cunliffe-Owen, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Society, thereupon read the following messages:

Letter from the President of the United States.

THE WHITE HOUSE

MY DEAR MR. CUNLIFFE-OWEN:

I wish most sincerely that I might be at the Annual Dinner of the France-America Society, on September 6. Since I cannot be, will you not be kind enough to convey my greetings to those present, and to say how much I regret that I cannot have the opportunity to join with them in expressing the feelings of gratitude and deep admiration for the Marquis de Lafayette, which I am sure all our fellow-countrymen entertain, who love this great country, and who cherish the great memories of the days of the Revolution? We are in a better position now, perhaps, than we ever were before, to realize what it meant that men like Lafayette should join their fortunes with ours, in a great struggle for Liberty, and that the Government of the great country which Lafayette represented should, at

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the hour of greatest need, have extended its hand of effective aid across the seas.

Cordially and sincerely yours,
(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

MR. CUNLIFFE-OWEN: His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell was to have been present tonight and to have spoken for France. Owing to the dangerous illness of Cardinal Farley he has not been able to be with us, and has asked me to read this letter:

From His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston.

Boston, September 3, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. CUNLIFFE-OWEN:

To speak for France at any time is an honor. But to speak for France in these days when French heroism and French endurance have thrilled the world, is the highest privilege. My regret at being compelled to forego this privilege is as deep as it is sincere.

When your kind invitation reached me, I instantly accepted it, not only gladly, but eagerly; for to voice in the presence of the Ambassador of France, and the honorable company about him, my profound love for the land of Lafayette, and my enthusiastic admiration for the heroes of the Marne, was something for which my heart yearned.

Alas! events have conspired against me, and the coveted honor will be gained by another. Nobly as he is sure to acquit himself under the inspiration of so lofty a theme, he can never feel more deeply than I do a genuine and generous love for the glorious France of history, and as fervent admiration for the high heroism of the suffering France of today.

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So that when about the banquet table your noble company rises to the toast, I will arise here too, and my message, borne over the seas, will be "Vive la France!" and my fervent appeal to Heaven, "Dieu protege la France!"

May I ask you to kindly present my homage to His Excellence, the French Ambassador, and to speak for me my regrets?

I have the honor to be,

Very faithfully yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM CARDINAL O'CONNELL,
Archbishop of Boston.

Cablegram from Marechal Foch,
Commanding in chief the Entente
Armies in France

Greatly obliged for your congratulations and good wishes. I am with you in heart in the celebration of this glorious anniversary of Lafayette. Once again the profound union of our two nations will make force.

(Signed) MARECHAL FOCH.

Cablegram from Gabriel Hanotaux,
of the Academy of France. President of the
Comité France-Amerique, in Paris, and
former Minister of Foreign Affairs

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER,

President, France-America Society, New York.

We are with you today, when your loyal friendship leads you to celebrate this double and glorious anniversary. The battle front echoes with the magnificent successes in which we are united, the enemy being everywhere in retreat. We address to you from this soil of France, now in the course of liberation, a cry of confidence and of firm hope in an early victory, which will be a triumph for all humanity.

(Signed) GABRIEL HANOTAUX.

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Cablegram from André Tardieu,
Commissioner-General of Franco-American
War Relations

Pray accept all my regrets at being unable to take part in your banquet to celebrate the anniversaries of the birth of Lafayette, and of the first victory of the Marne. I am with you with all my heart to celebrate these two souvenirs, the commemoration of which unites ever more closely the United States and France.
(Signed) ANDRÉ TARDIEU.

MR. CUNLIFFE-OWEN: Mr. President, Your Excellencies and Gentlemen, may I be allowed, before I resume my seat, to ask you all to drink to a toast which ought to go before all others, and which is usually left to the last? Gentlemen, the women—the heroic, devoted women of France—the guardian angels of France—represented here tonight by the lady in the box yonder who furnishes a blend of all that is most gracious in the womanhood of France and of the United States—Madame Jusserand, the Ambassadors of France.

This toast was received with loud and prolonged applause.

PRESIDENT BUTLER: Your Excellencies, Mr. Secretary, and Gentlemen of the Society: The France-America Society has met many times since the first of August, 1914, but it has never met with a more distinguished company of guests at its board or under happier

and brighter auspices. (Applause.) The word Hun has begun to rhyme with the word run. (Laughter and applause.) We have met in moments of depression, in moments of hesitation, in moments of doubt. Tonight we meet at a moment of new confidence and exultation. (Applause.) We have known that nothing could shake our confidence in ultimate victory; we have known that beyond these clouds of war the sun was shining, and now the sun has broken through! I cannot share the regret expressed by Marshal Foch that he is not able to be with us tonight. (Laughter and applause.) I prefer to have him exactly where he is (applause), and to send him word that we do not need him with us because we are with him. (Applause.)

This war has brought us many things, and it has given us perhaps a new anniversary. We Americans have been accustomed these many years to celebrate on each July 4 our day of national independence. Why should we not hereafter celebrate on September 6, the anniversary of Lafayette and of the first battle of the Marne, our day of national interdependence? (Applause.) What anniversary could be more suitable than one which recalls the gracious, chivalrous and warm-hearted personality of the friend and companion in arms of Washington, the first really vital, personal link between the new republic on this side of the Atlantic and that older France upon whose

civilization we so heavily lean? And now that date has been given a new significance and takes its place forever in the history of human achievement, for it is the date of the decisive act of the first great battle of the Marne, when Marshal Joffre and the armies of France stopped them,—the date on which the German armies began to lose this war, and the date on which the Allied armies began to win it. (Applause.) What could be a more significant use of that date than to make it a day of celebration of our national interdependence, of these new ties, of these new and strong friendships, of these new and moving aspirations, of these new and terrible sufferings for the achievement of the highest of all ends?

When we look about us, we find that to-day the heart of America is not here. It is in France. The best, the bravest of the youth of America are not here; they are in France. The interest, the attention, the affection of our people are not here; they are in France. But in France they are at home. (Applause.) In France—despite the barrier of language, so rapidly being broken down,—in France, America is today expressing all that is best and finest and most ennobling in its nature, its history, its traditions, in order that it may show its heart to that great, powerful, silent, suffering people which for four years has borne the brunt of this terrific struggle.

There is nothing new that we can say about it. We have long since exhausted our words of panegyric for this marvelous exhibition of national power, national resolution, national self-control and national determination. All that we can do now is to continue to stand by the side of France and our Allies until that for which France has suffered is won completely and forever. (Applause.)

I said that we meet at a moment of exultation. We do. But let us not deceive ourselves. This war is not yet won. There are, perhaps, weary months ahead of us before we shall have accomplished our set purpose; and during those months we shall be solicited again to stay our hand. We shall be told pretty soon, when winter sets in and the ground is muddy one day and frozen the next, when hostilities on a grand scale are halted—we shall be told, "What is the use of continuing this contest longer? Why not agree now upon some basis for peace?" Gentlemen, what hollow mockery! Have we embarked with France and Britain and Italy and the Czechoslovaks [turning to Professor Masaryk] (applause)—have we embarked on this enterprise to trade it away? Or have we embarked upon it to bring it to a conclusion and to settle it in terms that free men understand, that free men agree upon, and that free men hand to their defeated foes to accept? (Applause.)

It is the old story, day by day, week by

week. We are solicited to weaken our resolution, or to halt in our resolve. That might well be, gentlemen, if we had entered upon a commercial transaction. We might then judiciously and fairly compromise it for a reasonable gain; but the free nations of the world are not engaged in any commercial transaction. They are not spending their blood, their treasure, and bending their institutions till sometimes they almost break, for any commercial purpose. They are set upon the achievement of a great human ideal, and, having started, they propose to carry it through until that ideal is reached and accomplished in terms that can be understood by all men. We have made magnificent progress. We are doing splendidly and well. Let us not be diverted for one moment from the fundamental fact that Peace through Victory is the only peace that we want, for that peace will last. (Great applause.)

We meet particularly to celebrate our relations with France, to renew our pledges of affectionate friendship and devotion, to tell once more the story of our understanding and our sympathy, and to spread out before the whole world the great flood of feeling that wells up in our hearts when the name of that people is mentioned, when their achievements, their sufferings and their accomplishments are before us.

There are a thousand ways in which we can

give expression to what we feel. It is not a matter, my dear Ambassador, of the head alone. We think we understand; we think we appreciate; we think that we know something of the great intellectual significance of France. It is not that. Tonight it is a matter of the heart; it is what we feel; it is what brings the tears to our eyes, as we read of these marvelous exhibitions of courage and devotion, of capacity and continuance in well doing. It is what touches us to the very quick as we read of the sufferings of old men and women and children; it is what wrenches our hearts as we hear of the beating down of great masterpieces of art and of architecture, and it is what fills us with anger and contempt as we learn of the devastation which a retreating foe has spread behind him as he turns his face toward the east.

The German communiqué of yesterday stated that a certain town was now in front of their lines. A cynical writer in the Socialist *Vorwaerts* remarked that it would be more frank so to frame the communiqué as not to give the impression that the lines had stood still and the town had moved. (Laughter.) He said it would be a little more confidential with the public to say that the army had retreated from the town than to say that that town now lay before their lines. Gentlemen, a great many towns are going to change places within the next few weeks. (Applause.)

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But the natural feature of Europe that has got first of all to change its place with reference to the German Army is the River Rhine. (Applause.) When those official communiqués begin to say that the River Rhine now lies "before our lines", the people at home in Germany will begin to understand what is going to happen. (Applause.) They will understand that this war is going to be really won, and is not to be compromised or traded away or negotiated, after all these years of sacrifice and suffering and human upheaval. That is the message, Mr. Ambassador, which the members of this Society would like to send through you to their friends and Allies in France. (Applause.)

I propose a toast to France, her Army, her people, her soul; and I couple it with the name of our old friend who is much more than an Ambassador—he is both a French American and an American Frenchman,—His Excellency, the Ambassador of France. (Applause.)

AMBASSADOR JUSSERAND: Mr. President, Mr. Secretary, Your Excellencies and Gentlemen: When, more than a century and a half ago, that event took place which we are commemorating today, the name of Lafayette was only known in the world of letters, to the select few who had been able to enjoy a brief novel of 200 pages, "La Princesse de Clèves", written by one who bore that name only through marriage.

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The name is now of world-wide renown, a magic name to conjure by; at the sound of which only great and noble images come to the mind—the image of Washington, the souvenir of a people who wanted to be free, reached freedom and is the American Republic of today, the remembrance of a long life devoted from the earliest to the last days to the cause of independence.

That magic name has once more brought us together, celebrations are held in a number of cities, the greatest in the land take part in them. President Wilson does so in Washington; President Poincaré of France has sent us a message; the eloquent President of Columbia University, whose words carry weight, has consented to preside over this assembly; my admired friend, the Secretary of the Interior, has come from Washington, as well as several of those colleagues of mine who, like me, represent nations arrayed in the definitive fight against injustice and barbarity.

Since we met last year many events have ing part played by this nation, with the firmest will to win, in the world conflict. Anything that is asked of it is granted at once: be it subscription to immense loans, the giving up of the accustomed food, or the accustomed auto ride on Sunday, the acceptance of new taxation (8 billion dollars is the report), or the increase of the draft age, which will include boys

of 18 and men of 45. And this increase has just come to pass owing to a unanimous vote of the two Houses. With their thousands of spies, and their million dollars for what they were pleased to call propaganda (which included murder), the Germans had no idea that this could be. There was one spot opened to us all, but in which German spies could not pry, that was the American heart.

One of the best French cartoons published during the war appeared recently. It represents the Kaiser staggered at the sight of an immense army arriving in the distance. Before him stands an armed angel whose open wings show stars in their upper part, while the long feathers below simulate stripes. Says the Kaiser: "But what is the fleet which can have carried over the seas this numberless army?"

The angel answers: "The Lusitania".

A valiant army if any, the praise of which is on every lip, a youthful, good-humored, cheery army, whose every soldier is welcome in the castle and in the hut, and is offered just as heartily the best cake or the last crust; an immense army that ceaselessly grows; for month after month you send over to France double the number of men Napoleon had at Waterloo. Many French names written on the map recall our presence here at the time of your fight for independence, chief among them that of Lafayette. Many American

names will, in after time, recall the splendid part you are taking in the deliverance of France and of the world. The name of President Wilson is already written there, and one of our woods which used to be called Belleau Wood will be known henceforth as the "Bois de la Brigade de Marine", having been freed by your marines in the battle of Chateau Thierry.

The enemy is doomed. The day is unknown; the fact is certain. The enemy feels anxious; when he feels anxious, he raises his eyes to heaven, deplores the slaughter, complains of his being friendless and lonely, and wonders at the heartlessness of us who will not desist; he babbles of peace. Falstaff, on his deathbed, was, as you know, "babbling of green fields". They think they can lure us, having lured others; but they are mistaken; our peoples know how to read; they can even read between the lines.

Who could believe that it is really a German who talks thus: "The time must come when between peoples and peoples something like an impulse of confidence shall germinate; when oppressed human nature shall revolt against false doctrines, threatening to suffocate the innermost human affinities."

Yes, it is a German who is piping thus, an exalted one, but an anxious one. It is Dr. Solf, their Minister of Colonies (a man of leisure he must be just now); thus was he

speaking not more than a fortnight ago. He was so good as to add: "We do not intend to retain Belgium in any form whatever." But it is a fact that for what Germans intend or do not intend on that point, we do not care. Noble Belgium shall owe nothing to her unspeakable tyrants.

In such cases, Germans rarely omit to refer to their grand offer to the Entente Powers on December 12, 1916, when they informed the world that "the four allied Powers (that is themselves) proposed to enter forthwith into peace negotiations," saying all the possible good of the "propositions which they brought forward". What propositions? Giving the measure of their sincerity, they refused to tell. When the President of the United States asked us and them for positive statements, we gave ours (January 10, 1917), but the Germans simply referred to their previous indeterminate offer which they had, however, embellished thus in a note to the Pope: "Europe, which formerly was devoted to the propagation of religion and civilization, which was trying to find solutions for social problems and was the home of science and art and all peaceful labor, now resembles an immense war camp in which the achievements of many decades are doomed to annihilation."

This from the very men who destroyed Rheims and Louvain, for the pleasure of it, and who, as Ambassador Morgenthau has shown

beyond the possibility of a doubt, had determined upon war weeks before the Austrian Crown Prince had been assassinated by an Austrian subject. That death came opportunely for them; if it had not come, something else would have been found. The Serbs would have been told, just as we were, that they had bombarded Nuremberg; any fairy tale would have been good enough. But now the enemy babbles of green fields.

We are, however, more difficult than ever, for we are no longer reduced to suppositions, probable as those were, concerning the kind of terms they intended to propose. They have signed, in the course of the present year, a series of peace treaties so that any one can judge: treaties with Ukraine, Bolshevik Russia, Finland, Roumania (February 9, March 3, March 7, May 6).

The animus inspiring Germany while signing those deeds is thus described by "green fields" Dr. Solf: Germany was determined "not to bar the way now open to oppressed peoples—the road to freedom, order and mutual tolerance."

This is on a par with the Kaiser's own words: "The sword has been forced into our hands", after he had declared war on everybody. For the facts are there, indisputable, confessed by the Germans themselves; all those treaties are treaties not of freedom but of bondage; and each was violated at once,

"scraps of paper" that they are, so as to make them worse in practice.

All the world now knows what is the "reinforced protection" bestowed by the Germans on Ukraine and how the "road to freedom" open to that country led her oppressors to the banks of the Black Sea. The country is overrun with German troops, the peasants have risen in arms against them, and Ukrainians now realize what is meant by a German peace.

The treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 3) took from Russia territories vaster than Germany and Austria put together, one-third of the total Russian population, one-half of the total mileage of railways, nine-tenths of the total coal production, three-fourths of the total iron. And worse perhaps than all the rest, the treaty prescribes the "orderly return to Turkey" of Russian Armenia and neighboring provinces: so that it be possible to continue until none be left the orderly slaughter of the Christians in Armenia.

Esthonia and Livonia are handed by the same treaty to "a German police force until order in the state is restored", the Germans, of course, being the judges thereof.

Awaiting a German King, as the best promoter of freedom, Finland has been "liberated", which consisted in placing her under a German protectorate. By article 1 of their treaty of March 7, the Finns undertake "not to grant a servitude to any foreign power with-

out having first come to an understanding with Germany in the matter". What is a "servitude?" The Germans it will be to say.

And what can be said of the treaty with Roumania, which gags a brave, highly civilized nation, tramples her under foot, suppresses her army transformed into a mere police force, takes from her the total of her sea coasts, introduces into each of her Ministries a German adviser, gives to Austria her best forests, population included, to Germany her petroleum resources, imposes a military occupation which the Germans will be able to prolong at will; places ports and railways in the hands of the Germans. In case of difficulties about petroleum, there will be arbitration; we think we can breathe; let us not; the umpire will be appointed by the President of the Court of Leipzig.

As usual, additional decrees or arrangements have aggravated conditions considered too lenient by the worshippers of Odin. One prescribes obligatory labor, in the occupied territory, of all males from 14 to 60, under penalties including five years of prison and even death.

Bessarabia was, by the same treaty, annexed to Roumania. Can we find in this a trace of generosity? Not the slightest; it is merely a way of submitting one more province to the "régime" of the Roumanian conditions.

Were we right or were we not when we

declined to lay down our arms, as the Russians did, before discussing the terms in store for them, and when we refused to walk into the trap laid out for us? If there had been any doubt, it would have been removed by a casual remark of the German delegates at Bukharest. When the Roumanians expressed their horror at the terms proposed to them, the Germans coolly answered (and that I *do* know): "They are very moderate in comparison with what is in store for the Allies after the German victory."

Very probably so if there was to be a German victory. We cannot forget that one of their papers, the "Rhinish and Westphalian Gazette," once gave us an inkling, unobjected to by their censor, of what they really contemplated. It fully agrees with the dictum of the delegates at Bukharest, in the present year. "Our ultimate aim," that worthy sheet had said, in November, 1916, "is to push through to the west and to the ocean. Whatever offers resistance is to be crushed. . . . What the victor gets, he holds. . . . Let us daily tell the French that every foot we conquer is ours. We need not waste words about Belgium. We need access to the Channel and we need Antwerp. Whoever wants Belgium may fetch it from us."

The Germans follow their leader, and what can we expect of such a nation following such a leader? Few descriptions of him and of his

deeds are better than this one, written by a man of his own race:

"Superb in his attitude, casting his glances right and left, the very movements of his body seem to reveal his pride of power. . . . He planned the conquest of the universe. . . .

His power has risen in spite of all justice and his cruelty has had such a success as to inspire horror. . . . Where can we find the cause of this immense slaughter? What hatreds can have incited so many nations to rush one against the other? That humanity could be but a tool in the hands of a king has been made evident when the mad folly of one man caused so many nations to be given over to carnage and the swelled fantasy of a monarch destroyed in an instant what it had cost nature so many centuries to produce."

Accurate as this portrait is, the Kaiser did not actually sit for the painter; for it was written in the sixth century by Jornandes, the Goth, who had for his original Attila, King of the Huns.

"I am God's scourge", Attila had said. "I am the instrument of the Almighty." "I am his sword, his representative. Disaster and death to all those who resist my will", said his imitator and admirer, the Kaiser, in a proclamation to his army in the East in December, 1914.

In the Catalaunian fields the first battle of the Marne was fought, and Attila defeated,

A. D. 451. Those fields are the plains near the Marne about Chalons, the Catalaunum of those days. The second battle of the Marne was won four years ago today by one whom you saw and triumphantly received last year, Marshal Joffre; and it becomes more and more certain, as time passes, that it will be one of the great dates in the history of the world. The third battle of the Marne still goes on. It offers this unique character that American troops have played in it a splendid part; the first great victory in Europe in which they have been associated. Starting from the Marne, the battle continues. Pershing's men win the admiration of all. Our English friends are doing wonders, and all acting together, led by that stout-hearted soldier, Marshal Foch, we bid fair to proceed from one river to another, until we pay the enemy the compliment of echoing on the spot one of his favorite songs: "The Watch on the Rhine".

The peace offensive of the enemy will fail as well as his other offensives. He chose and appointed the day when should begin what he himself now rightly calls "the atrocities of war"; (1) we shall choose and appoint the day for peace. Our terms are known to the whole world; they aim at the destruction not of Germany, but of Germanism, at the liberation not only of our Alsace-Lorraine, but of all the Alsace-Lorraines in the world. And we

(1) German Note to the Powers, Dec. 2, 1918.

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simply acted in accordance with our principles, with the principles of the hero of the day, Lafayette, the principles set forth in admirable language by President Wilson when we and our Allies recognized, only the other day, the independence of those splendid Czecho-Slovaks, whose anabasis through Siberia will have been one of the memorable deeds of the war, the United States having joined us this very week in this work of honor.

Hand in hand when the day comes, after years of suffering and of hope, having perfected their great task with an equal courage and abnegation, the honest nations of the world will walk towards the temple of Justice; two of them will look like twin sisters, the Republic of France and the Republic of America.

PRESIDENT BUTLER: Gentlemen, our Society is signally honored tonight by the presence of a member of the cabinet of the President of the United States. It is not easy at a time like this, when important decisions are to be made almost every hour, for a man in a highly responsible post to steal away to share our pleasure and our satisfaction; but our guest has been able to do so, and we thank him for it and express our appreciation of it.

I have great honor and satisfaction in presenting to you one whom I think I may claim as an old personal friend, an American who

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laid the foundation for his reputation by good citizenship and public service in the State of California, who did yeoman service for years as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and who has been from the beginning of President Wilson's administration at the head of the great Department of the Interior, a man who commands the confidence and respect of Americans, regardless of section or of party.

I have the honor to present Mr. Secretary Lane. (Applause.)

SECRETARY LANE: Mr. President, Your Excellencies and Gentlemen: Before leaving Washington today I did a thing which pleased me and I trust will please you. In honor of that man whose birthday we celebrate, and in honor of the Lafayette Escadrille, I named a flying field in the Mount Desert National Park "Lafayette Field." This body of beautiful meadow lies at the foot of a bold mountain which we are to call the "Flying Squadron." It faces the sea and looks directly across to France. And on one of the shoulders of this mountain we expect to erect a monument upon which will be carved the names of those flying men who have given their lives to secure world liberty. This was an appropriate thing to do, because this piece of land originally belonged to France; it was the westernmost part of Acadia, and afterward it came to be a part of

the State of Massachusetts. This field itself had belonged to the granddaughter of Cadillac, who had been dispossessed. But because of the importuning of Lafayette it was restored to Madame de Gregoire and from her descended until it was purchased as a part of the first National Park east of the Missouri River.

I hope that the France-America Society will accept this as another evidence of the undying admiration that America has for the friend of Washington. It will be appropriate, too, if I can find some mountain in the great chain that passes through our continent from north to south, some rocky mountain peak which blocks the way of glacier and of flood, upon which might be written the words: "They shall not pass", and name it after the hero of the Marne.

The United States has summoned within one year twenty-three million men to the colors; ten million under the first draft, and thirteen million under the second draft are to register. This is our answer to the sinking of the Lusitania, to the sinking of the Sussex, to the bombing of Red Cross hospitals, to the crucifixion of Canadians, to mustard gas, and to all the horrors of Belgium. America is indeed a fighting nation. There has not been a generation since it was a nation when it did not fight. But it always has fought for a principle, and in fighting for a principle a nation fights for itself. Every one of those twenty-three million men who may be needed

to bring the Germans to a realization that the philosophy of unlimited force is not to master the world will be put on the battlefield of France. No such draft will be needed, for the Allies have got their second wind, and if I understand Foch's tactics aright he will never let the Germans get their second wind.

We are answering Germany with ten thousand tons of new ships each day, which we will make twenty thousand tons next year.

We are answering Germany with tanks, and aeroplanes. And remember this, that the inventive genius of America is not yet exhausted.

Above all, we are answering Germany with a spirit of determination, and of enthusiasm and confidence which cannot be excelled in that whole sweep of Western Europe, from the Shetland Islands to the Ægean Sea.

A few weeks ago I was in the Hawaiian Islands, far up on the side of Mona Loa. There I spoke to two hundred and fifty boys, Hawaiians, not three per cent of whom had been born under the American flag, who had just entered the army. As I stopped in front of them I said: "Is there any one here who wants to go to France?" and every hand went up with a great shout. Five thousand miles west of here, on an island that twenty years ago did not belong to us! I went from there into a school. I was introduced to the children as Mr. Lane, and the teacher said: "Does any child here know who Mr. Lane is?" At

once a girl answered: "He is the Secretary of the Interior." "And what does the Secretary of the Interior have to do?" "He has charge of lands, and mines, and parks, and other things," said this girl. I grew suspicious at once, and I thought that this was what you would call in New York a "frame-up", and so I asked this girl, who was half Chinese and half Hawaiian: "And who is the Secretary of State?" Her answer came at once: "Mr. Robert Lansing". And then I said: "Do you know why we are in this war?" And she answered, looking out on the Pacific, which surrounded us: "To make the sea safe and to help those who need help."

Our splendid President gave to the world the only epigrammatic statement of our national aim when he said that we were fighting to make the world safe for democracy. That is but another way of saying what the little Hawaiian girl said. We are in the war to make the sea safe, so that no man can master the highways of the world, so that no man ever again will have the audacity to draw a line across the Atlantic, or the Pacific, and say to America, or to any other country: "You may be permitted to sail this line, in a ship painted as we shall designate, carrying a flag that we shall paint."

To help those who need help! This is the essence of that fine spirit of chivalry which distinguishes what we call Christian civiliza-

tion. Force, unrestrained force, force without conscience behind it, without the limitations of the moral law, force without the Ten Commandments and without the Declaration of Independence—this is not to master the world.

The cave man with his club, believing only in the doctrine of the survival of the strongest, has had his day. He is to be succeeded by the chivalric spirit of the Lafayette, the almost child-like gentleness of the firm Joffre, and the broad humanitarianism of the Woodrow Wilson.

We are speaking in terms of force now, because we are speaking the one language which the German hierarchy understands, the language that comes from the cannon's mouth, and we will continue to speak in that language until we have a military decision, and a military decision will have been reached, as I understand it, when Germany knows that she has been whipped in battle and knows she will be whipped again and again if she continues to fight,—that she cannot stand against the physical force of the world or against its moral force.

These are glad and glorious days, ennobling days. The world has stood in fear and trembling for four years, but as the Britishers, the Canadians, the Australians, the Americans and the French sweep on their way from Ypres to Arras, they lift the burden from our hearts and fill us with high hope, for now we know that

we are on our way to that military decision which will lead to a compact between nations under which wars may not be made impossible, but more unreasonable and more unlikely. I expect that this Society will meet two years from this time to celebrate not merely the birthday of Lafayette or the glorious feat of Joffre, nor merely the end of this unprecedented war, but the close of an epoch in the history of the world and the beginning of a new day in the relationship between nations and in the relationship between man and man.

Now that we see that peace is to come to the world, we are deeply interested in the new world that will be. For all conceive that this war has been another great step on the road to real democracy, a democracy in spirit as well as in form. Everyone can perceive that the world's thought is in a state of flux. Nothing is static. And it becomes those who are wise to see that whatever policies are adopted as to the future root themselves in the real and permanent traditions of the past, which are the fruits of man's experience, but that these things which are superficial and not fundamental may be discarded. We must make America more perfectly the expression of our own belief that it is the throne-seat of liberty and justice. The essence of our thought, of our political, our social, and our economic philosophy, is fair play, fair play between nations, fair play between men. We must have a

clear and concise conception ourselves as to what America is, and we must interpret that conception to the world, and especially to that portion of the world which has come to our shores and which has not yet become American. There have been many schemes devised by which men of foreign birth may be Americanized, but after all, there is but one method, and that is by human relationship. America is judged by the foreign-born, and should be so judged by them, by the manner in which they are treated by Americans. As we have chivalry in battle, so we should have chivalry in life.

We have undertaken the greatest task, the solution of the largest and most involved problem that any people have undertaken—gathering together men and women of all nations, creeds and races, blending them into a nation and creating out of them a new race. We have looked upon this matter not with indifference, but with that infinite faith that all things would solve themselves if left alone, which has been characteristic of our life. But I believe that the time has come when we should intimately concern ourselves, as individuals and as a nation, with the hopes, the dreams, the ideals and the destinies of the many millions of people who are with us but are not fully us. Is it any wonder that these people do not understand what America means? What effort have we made to let them know that America

is more than an industrial hunting-ground? You and I realize that America is more than money, or mines, more than lands, more than stocks and industry. It is a spirit, a free spirit, a growing spirit. It has rejected the theory that some men are born to rule and others to be their peasant henchmen. I trust that it will not adopt the idea that America is a nurse whose business it is to treat mankind as dependents. It is rather the sunshine and the free air which induce life and which challenge the spirit of men.

America is adventure, but it is not exploitation.

America is the land of the free and the home of the brave, but it is the land of the free because it is the home of the brave.

America is heart as well as hands and head.

America is a hope, not a thing done. America is a history of great men and great deeds, of the mastering of the continent, of the revolution of unprecedented resources, the organization of industries upon the hugest scale. But it is more than these. It is a vision of life, a conception of free men making their way constantly and unendingly against every challenge that nature presents, the challenge of mountains and of the streams and of the forests and of the lands, and the challenge of the greed, the indifferences, the laziness, the wilfulness of man's own nature. Man has come here seeking justice through liberty, through

stable and orderly liberty. He has gone back to the old world to fight for that ideal in France. These boys will return to fight for that ideal in America. They will have a larger conception of the world, a knowledge of peoples that they did not have before. We should prepare America to receive them in the spirit which they will have upon their return. What should we do, practically? I believe that we should extend and expand our public school system, so that in the first instance every school will be an educating ground for American citizenship, so that no boy or girl can pass through the school without having a sense of what America is, how it has been made, what its resources are, how its people live, what has been the evolution of its institutions, what its services have been to mankind; and in the second place no boy or girl should come out of our public schools without knowing some trade. The new day is to be a day in which the test will be: "Of what use are you in the world?" All private industries will become public utilities, unless those industries have breathed into them a supreme sense of public service. And all men are slackers, who are not at work, creative work.

There is within us all a small man and a large man. The small man is the narrow, personal, self-indulgent, egotistic man. I am afraid that this is the man who was uppermost in our days of peace. The large man is the

man who has been challenged by this war. He sees the worthlessness of little strivings, of small ambitions, and he has come forward as never before, saying to the nation: "How can I be of use?" This man is in the ascendant. He is represented by the boy on the battlefield and by the man who puts his energy and enthusiasm into the work at home. He has a new religion, because he is living in the presence of a new compelling idea. If this spirit remains alive, if the torch burns as brightly after the war as it does today, America will have a renaissance which will keep her in the leadership of the world.

Out of the war we have new heroes, new concrete presentations of the things that we admire in man, and by that admiration we will grow. Out of the war we are to have new ideals of society, in which we will, I trust, give the highest premium to the man who can be of the greatest service. Out of the war we are to have a new conception of ourselves, a humbler conception and yet a prouder one, I trust.

PRESIDENT BUTLER: Gentlemen, the France-America Society has the very peculiar privilege and distinction of being the first body publicly to salute the new Czecho-Slovak nation since its recognition by the government of the United States. It is not often that infants are gifted with eloquence, but it so happens

that this people has in the President of its Provisional National Council a chosen leader who is truly one of the world's greatest statesmen. When I had the honor to present him some weeks ago to the largest and most enthusiastic public meeting it has ever been my fortune to see in the City of New York in course of more than thirty years, I ventured to say that he was one of the half dozen most important personalities in the world. I now repeat that statement in your presence. To his genius and to his zeal the new Czecho-Slovak nation owes no small part of its being, and to those same qualities we and our Allies owe no small part of the value of the Czecho-Slovak army now fighting in Siberia for the redemption of Russia. (Applause.)

It is a very, very great honor to have among our guests and to represent you as the spokesman of the Czecho-Slovak people, their chosen leader, Dr. Masaryk. (Applause.)

DR. MASARYK: Mr. President and Gentlemen: The speakers of this evening explained to us what the spirit of Lafayette is and what it means for us. The spirit of Lafayette was the belief of the people of the eighteenth century in the right of men and citizens, and it was the French nation who made the declaration of the right of men and citizens. And the same spirit of Lafayette in the eighteenth century we are feeling and we are living now in the twentieth century, when the statesmen

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of France and of all united people declare for equality, the right of all nations, great and small. I am speaking here on behalf of one of these small nations, and I am happy to be able to thank this Society—in the first place, to thank France, who first recognized our nation and our National Council.

I thank Italy, who has made a detailed agreement with us. I thank Great Britain, whose recognition stirred the fury of Germany and Austria. And I thank the Government and the President of the United States, recognizing our provisional government.

You are right, Mr. President, speaking of—I would say, a baby nation—at least I feel like the representative of a quite new nation; and it is not supposed that babies should speak long speeches—not supposed to speak to grown statesmen and diplomats. Yet allow me to say all that has been said about and against Germany, we Bohemians and Slovaks feel that it is spoken too against Austria-Hungary. Our statement to you is this: That without dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, there would be no victory. (Applause.) No victory, because Austria is here, fifty-one millions, the weak tool of Germany. Germany controls Austria-Hungary, controls the Balkans, Turkey, Asia, Africa. Austria cannot subsist if the Allies have to win this war. And they must win it and will win it. (Applause.) And it is not only, I would say,

a political duty; it is the moral duty to dismember Austria. This organization of violence where the minority controls and exploits the majority of nations—remember, please,—don't forget that long phrase which was made, as has been stated, in the Reichstag of Vienna by the Polish Deputy, Mr. D'Choynsky—thirty thousand, perhaps sixty thousand civilians have been executed because they did not like Austria-Hungary and resisted Hungary. Imagine what it means to kill men, women and children—20,000 or 60,000. That is Austria, and the spirit of Austria; and therefore our conviction is, Austria must be dismembered. (Applause.)

Then, not only will Bohemia be free and Slavic; Poland must be restored and united. (Applause.) The South Slavs must be united and independent; Roumania, Italy, must get their national right; and then we will have, from the Baltic down over Bohemia, Poland, Roumania, South Slavs, Italy, Switzerland—to France, a barrier of Slavs, and not only of Slavs, of the Roman nation, against Germany. Only then will Russia be able to recover, if Germany shall not be the direct neighbor of Russia, if Russia shall be freed from this German pressure. That only can be done if all these smaller nations in this zone in the east shall be liberated.

And so we Slavs think that the object, the primary object, I would say, of this war, is

the solution of the Oriental question, so to speak. But not only the Oriental question is to be solved. We have a western question, too. Secretary Lane explained what he thinks is the American spirit. Mr. Jusserand, in his able writings, shows that he is not only a diplomatist, but a philosopher. He tries to explain what Americanism is. I confess I learned a good deal about America in his books. True America is human. It is the humanitarian principle which pervades America, and being real human, America is accepted and the American principles accepted by all nations, and if you speak of the process of Americanization, we will all be Americanized because we hope we will all be humanized.

Mr. President, you spoke of the interdependence, if I may say so, of nations—of the brotherhood of nations. Our South Slav brothers have a peculiar custom. Every man chooses one of his friends as his brother, and they mix a drop of blood to symbolize the brotherhood. Gentlemen, streams of blood, streams of the most noble blood you see, are mixed on the battlefield of France and of all Europe. I ask you, if the South Slavs become brothers by mixing only one drop of blood, what must we, we nations, be if we mix those streams, those oceans of blood? More than brethren. (Applause.)

I have finished what I have to say. I once

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more thank all who are helping and will help our nation. Vive la France! (Prolonged applause.)

PRESIDENT BUTLER: Gentlemen, at any meeting of the France-America Society at a time like this, our program will be incomplete without opportunity to pay tribute to the courage, the service, the quiet, unboasting skill of the British Empire. (Applause.) There she stands, a veritable Rock of Gibraltar, in this time of need, and day by day, as we watch the progress on the map of the British armies toward Douai and Cambrai and Lille I am hoping that it may be their privilege to force the turning of the line in the west and to fire the signal that will indicate that the invading German has been forced from the coast of Flanders and to start out of Belgium. (Applause.)

It is a great pleasure to welcome here tonight so many representatives of the British Army, of the British Navy, and of the British Diplomatic Service. Perhaps I may be permitted to signalize our peculiar pleasure that circumstances have brought to our board Sir Maurice de Bunsen, who as British Ambassador at Vienna wrote a very substantial part of the record of the beginning of this war. To speak for Great Britain and to receive from us this token of our admiration and regard and confidence, I have the honor to

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present the Acting High Commissioner, Sir Henry Babington Smith. (Applause.)

SIR HENRY BABINGTON SMITH: Mr. President, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen: I feel it a great honor and privilege to be permitted to take part in the celebration tonight of the two anniversaries which are the occasion of this gathering. Historical events and the anniversaries which commemorate them derive their importance, it has often been said, largely from the consequences which flow from the events. If those who played a leading part in the war of American Independence, and, amongst them, the Marquis de Lafayette, have an important place in history, it may be said to be primarily because of the vast consequences which ensued from the birth of the American nation. The other anniversary which is celebrated tonight, is the anniversary of the first battle of the Marne. That, too, derives its importance largely from the effects which flowed from it. That victory was the definite check to the attempt of Prussian militarism to win domination over the world by the rush of an unexpected and sudden onset. That attempt was checked; but the war has continued for four years. I do not think I shall be overbold in saying that, in the future, the months that we are passing through now, the months of August and September of this year, will be regarded as the turning point which marked the beginning of

the complete and final defeat of that militarism. (Great applause.)

In looking back on the four years which have passed since the battle of the Marne, there are many thoughts which come to one's mind, and I will only express two of them. The first is that I should wish to be allowed to join in the tribute of admiration which has been paid tonight, and frequently before, for the spirit of France during those years—the unfaltering spirit which, through all suffering, through all struggle, has shown a constancy, a fortitude, and a valor that is above and beyond all praise. The other thought that I should like to express is one which perhaps comes naturally to the mind of an Englishman, who is accustomed to think in terms of the sea, and that is, that in all the fluctuations of warfare during those four years—and we have seen many fluctuations, we have seen the tide of war rising and falling, the battle front in France swaying forwards and backwards—during all those four years there is one element of war which has not fluctuated, and that has been the sea. (Applause.)

Mr. Secretary Lane quoted the school child who said that the object of the war was to make the sea free, that we are fighting to free the seas. But the sea must be free before we can fight. If the sea had not been free for the use of the Allies, of the 23,000,000 men who have registered or will register under the

American draft, not one would have been able to find his place in the battlefields of France. (Applause.) That freedom of the seas for the use of the Allies is secured by the Allied fleets, and mainly by the great fleet, British and American, lying in the mists of the northern sea. (Applause.)

A striking simile was used the other day by Mr. Lloyd George. I venture to reproduce it. During these years we have been passing, he said, through a tunnel, in darkness, in noise, in smoke. From time to time there has been a gleam of light. We thought we were coming, perhaps, to the end of the tunnel; but we found it was but the gleam of light from an airshaft, and we passed on. Now at last the light is beginning to grow brighter, and we have the firm conviction that it will continue to grow brighter and clearer until we emerge from the tunnel into air and sunlight again, and arrive at our final destination of Victory and of Peace through Victory. (Prolonged applause.)

PRESIDENT BUTLER: Gentlemen, may I adjourn this notable meeting by quoting the last sentence which I heard Mr. Choate speak—his sentence to Mr. Arthur Balfour: "We shall meet again to celebrate victory."

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